1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

The men learned it either in the Japanese schools or in the Japanese army labor gangs. The caliber of Japanese spoken by this group depends usually on the amount of schooling they had or the amount of their contact with the Japanese. A few men in this age group speak some Mandarin, learned from contact with mainlanders or while working in Taipei or local government offices. They do not speak it fluently in most cases, since they only learned it recently. Very few women in this age group speak Mandarin at all. The age group also contains a small number of Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese who work in the area in some official capacity.

Few villagers above the age of forty-five speak Japanese or Mandarin unless they learned either language through a government job or contact with the Japanese or mainland Chinese group. Villagers over forty-five usually speak only Min-nan.

ADMINISTRATIVE SETTING

The village is the smallest political unit in Taiwan. Several villages make up a *hsiang*, and several *hsiang*—plus several *chen* (township)—comprise a *hsien*. Sixteen *hsien*, including the Pescadores, now make up the province of Taiwan. Hsin Hsing village is one of twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang in Chang-hua Hsien.

The *hsien* is the highest level of government in which the residents of Hsin Hsing and other Taiwanese villages participate, which they do through the elections of *hsien* assemblymen. On the lower level, the villagers vote for their own village officials—*lin* (neighborhood) leaders, mayor, and village representative to the *hsiang* council. The latter council elects the *hsiang* mayor. The present election system, except for the village mayorality "elections" established during Japanese times, was instituted in the postwar period after the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists.

Under the Japanese colonial regime the population had no way to express itself politically on the district, county, or national level. Today, under the Chinese Nationalist government, although the rural population does have a voice in local and district political affairs, the people have little direct influence at the provincial level and no opportunity—either directly or indirectly—to participate in national governmental affairs. Even their influence on *hsien* politics (although assemblymen are elected directly by the people) is very slight.

The Kuomintang, the National People's Party, is considered and referred to as the "Ruling Party" in Taiwan. The party participates in elections for *hsien* assemblymen and for *hsien chang* (magistrate of the county) by running its own candidates who are usually heavy contributors to the party. In Chang-hua Hsien, these candidates are most

that one hears it mentioned in conversations in the village. At this time each year the hordes of "ghosts" imprisoned in the underworld are released for a month's holiday, and as a result parents feel it necessary to warn their children to stay away from the river. Their fear is that some hate-filled soul whose life was lost by drowning might attempt to obtain his own release from the underworld by seizing and drowning a child as a substitute.

Under the Japanese military administration which governed Taiwan from 1895 until 1903 the village of Hsiachichou was assigned to an administrative district with its headquarters in the town of Sanhsia. Later, after the military had been replaced by a civil administration Hsiachichou found itself a part of the Hsulin District with its district offices in the town of Hsulin. Forty years after this the return of a Chinese government brought about still another change in rural administration, and the village was designated a part of Panchiao Hsien with its administrative headquarters in the town of Panchiao. Partly because of this history, and partly because of a traditionally unresponsive attitude toward all forms of government, the political status of Hsiachichou has never been a significant aspect of the lives of village inhabitants. Instead, their orientation towards the outside world has always been in terms of the village's status as one of the five "areas" (lún) which make up the locally recognized district of Chichou. Although it has never been granted official status under any of the governments which have ruled Taiwan, the boundaries of Chichou are the boundaries which mark the line between the villagers' immediate

private world and the larger impersonal world of society at large. When a resident of Hsiachichou says that he is going "outside," he means that he is going beyond the limits of Chichou. In order to understand why this is so, and what it means for a person to think of himself as a resident of Chichou, we must know something of the history of this community.

According to the best information now available, the district of Chichou was originally settled in the mid-1770's by two brothers surnamed Ong. Leaving their native Fukien village in the Tungan District of Chuanchou, they migrated first to the area of Hsinchu in north central Taiwan, and then within several years moved again to settle on the banks of the Tamsui River. What life was like for these men and their early descendants is now difficult to discover, for the genealogical records which they left contain no more than the simple facts of marriage, birth, and death. Of one thing, however, we can be certain. The lives and the property of these early settlers were in constant danger. Unlike the native peoples of many parts of the world, the dispossessed aborigines of the area reacted to the incursions of their more powerful neighbors with a fierce resistance, and until as late as the 1920's forced many communities on the island to take protective measures. Further dangers for the early inhabitants of Chichou were the result of the constant internecine warfare among the various groups of Chinese settlers. The history of the Chinese settlement of the Taipei basin might well be written in terms of the conflicts between Chinese of various mainland origins. The formation of the city of Taipei, for

genealogy which records the names of their male children. Common membership in a corporate lineage probably served to remind the various families of the area of their common ancestry and joint responsibility, and lineage land holdings must have helped to insure the success of their cooperative efforts by providing the necessary element of self-interest. As the population of Chichou increased, however, this organization was weakened. What must have begun as small independent homesteads grew into villages; these quarreled with one another over the management of the lineage's joint land holdings; and as a result the original lineage fragmented into several independent organizations. At the same time a few families of other surnames began settling in Chichou. As early as the end of the 18th century a Tan family settled in the area of the district that is now Hsiachichou, and during the course of the 19th century families from the Ng and Lim villages on either side of Chichou established branches within its boundaries. These early incursions have been followed in the present century by an ever increasing influx of what the Ong families still refer to as "outsiders." The result of these two processes is that today the district of Chichou consists of five independent Ong lineages each of which occupies a community in which a third of their neighbors are families of another surname. The unity of Chichou is maintained by the Ong families' recognition of their common origin and former interdependence; the independence and individual identity of each of the five lún is achieved as a result of the fact that each is built around a core of closely related Ong families who comprise an independent lineage.

The outlines of this structure are clearly reflected in the religious life of the district of Chichou. Like independent communities all over China, each of the five lún has a small temple devoted to the god of the land, Tu Ti Kung. A god of little rank in the supernatural hierarchy, the Tu Ti Kung of each village is essentially a village recorder. He records births and deaths, marriages, and such changes in the village as the opening of new fields, the construction of a new home, or the arrival of a new family. Generally speaking, the Tu Ti Kung has as his province the immediate material welfare of the particular community in which his temple is located. Of much higher rank than Tu Ti Kung is the god Shang Ti Kung. Lodged in a large temple located in approximately the geographical center of Chichou, this god's authority is recognized as extending over the entire district. The management of his temple is appropriately in the hands of a district-wide committee which arranges for the upkeep of the temple and organizes the annual celebration in honor of the god's birthday. Each year this committee chooses by lot from one of the five lún a dozen or so men who have the task of carrying the god's chair in his annual "tour of inspection." Preceded by banners and incense burners, and followed by several bands and throngs of subjects, the god traverses the four corners of Chichou, his trip symbolizing the extent and area of his authority. Whereas the Tu Ti King is a minor official charged with the responsibility of keeping village records, the Shang Ti Kung is comparable to a magistrate responsible for the administration of an entire district. The five Tu Ti Kung thus represent the independence

of the five lún, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

simplify rather than to complicate. Often their interpretations are devised from half-remembered stories of their own aged parents and grandparents. According to the residents of Hotien, the district is comprised of four distinct areas. The most common explanation for these sections is that they reflect the settlement pattern of the five branches of the Lim lineage when it disintegrated, two of the branches living so close together that they formed a single section. This explanation has some validity. Although all are related, the Lims within each area are more closely related to each other than they are to the Lims in adjoining areas. The four sections are inhabited by clusters of kinsmen bound together by ties of common descent. In earlier years when the nearby hills still posed a threat of bandits, kinsmen collected together for mutual protection, but even now few families consider building at any great distance from their relatives. A family in need of additional living space usually adds to the old family home or builds a new structure next door. The bonds of kinship alone are enough to create a sense of community.

While the Lim clan was breaking apart, families of other surnames were moving into the areas, building homes on the edges of the Lim villages and buying land from Lim families who for one reason or another came upon bad times. The influx of other surnames occurred too late in the settlement of the Hotien area, however, for them to challenge the dominance of the Lims. An Ong family in Peihotien has lived there for nearly a hundred years, but they are nonetheless outsiders in a Lim village and still are referred to amusingly as "newcomers." A Chinese other than a Lim suffers from no discriminatory practices in Peihotien, but he always feels a certain uneasiness when he notes that about every third person his neighbor meets is a relative while he himself may not run across a single relation, regardless of how many trusted friends cross his path.

With each new colonial administration or reform movement on Taiwan the Hotien area has been divided and recombined into different administrative districts. It is not surprising that the residents of the area have come to ignore the official districts, accepting as inevitable that the office to which they went last year to pay their taxes will impatiently direct them elsewhere this year. Their religious organization and social affairs are conducted within the boundaries that have historical significance for some and permanence for all, the four areas that grew out of the division of the Lim descent group generations

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

ago. I doubt that the more recent arrivals in Peihotien are even aware of the origin of the cooperation between the four areas. Although it is apparent to the least observant that the area is dominated by Lims, the exclusiveness found in clan villages in mainland China does not exist here. The ties which connect the four villages of Hotien more closely to each other than to the surrounding villages are not questioned, nor are the rights and obligations of those within the district, regardless of surname. The temple in the center of Hotien is supported by all four areas and though the list of donors is dominated by the name Lim, it is in no sense a Lim temple. When it was Peihotien's turn to cleanse the gods of the temple by carrying them across a bed of hot coals, the carriers were not limited to Lims but to residents of Peihotien village.

In many ways this temple, the home of Shang Ti Kung, is a focal point for the district of Hotien. During my stay in the area the villagers spent a great deal of time and money in totally refurbishing the temple, and celebrated its completion in a three-day festival of rededication. Shang Ti Kung is responsible for the district of Hotien in much the same way as the Mandarins of old were responsible for particular districts. Once each year he is placed on a sedan chair and carried through the four sections of his district on a tour of inspection. The sound of cymbals and firecrackers punctuates his progress and along the way his subjects greet him with bows and incense, mingling prayers and offerings. During the rest of the year he stays in his temple where he is visited daily by villagers seeking advice and help. Shang Ti Kung can cure a sick pig, raise the price of rice, discipline an unmanageable daughter-in-law, make a barren woman fertile. He is not obliged to provide these services, but if approached with respect and handsomely bribed; he might.

While Shang Ti Kung influences the welfare of the entire district of Hotien, his underling, Tu Ti Kung, is associated with smaller areas, the villages. To one side of the main path into Peihotien there is a magnificent old tree, thick of trunk and limb. Beneath it is a small stone shrine, the home of Peihotien's Tu Ti Kung. Although he lacks Shang Ti Kung's influence in heaven, Tu Ti Kung is a valuable intermediary. He passes on complaints about local conditions and makes decisions about where and when new buildings may be constructed and old ones torn down. He is the scribe and recorder for the supernatural bureaucracy; to him the villagers must report each birth,

648 branches of government are the directly elected Provincial Assembly and the Provincial Governor selected by the Executive Yuan and appointed by the President with an overall responsibility to carry out the national policies with
648 particular attention to economic development. For the
829 village, a situation not unlike the attitude described for the national level is evident. Villagers are not aware of most provincial decisions and do not really participate meaningfully in provincial politics although decisions at the provincial level also have direct and indirect effects on village life.

County Government

648 The province of Taiwan is divided into 16 counties
• [634] and 5 cities, each with local self-government.[2] Sanlei village is a part of Taipei Hsien (country) which is headed
666 by an elected magistrate. The last election for the country council members was in January of 1964 for a four-year term. Elections at this level do generate some interest in the village as demonstrated by the fact that nearly eighty per cent of the eligible voters participate although only about two thirds participate in provincial elections.

Suffrage is universal, equal, direct, and secret. Qualifications for voting include citizenship, age of 20 or over, and six months residence; qualifications for office are the same except the minimum age is 23. There is
656 666 562 a federal law, applicable at every level of government